Europeanised Americans and Americanised Europeans: (Re)Envisioning Henry James' *Daisy Miller* and *Washington Square* within Transatlantic Studies

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In a postnational world, the focus of analysis on "Area Studies," as is the case with the denominated "American Studies," has gradually shifted to intercultural disciplines such as "Transatlantic Studies," given the importance of Anglo-American fluidities and cultural transactions especially after nineteenth-century post-independent and ante-bellum America, when both metropolis and colony had to rework their relations and reconstruct their personal identities. The denominated international situation remained a major field of exploration in many of Henry James' novels; a thematic link that developed, undergoing a gradual transformation as the author grew in experience and his personal relation with both continents gained complexity. In his youth, James travelled widely across Europe, reflecting, on his early novels, his acquaintance with the old continent from his own perspective as an American. The transatlantic clash of cultures became a constant motif throughout James' works. Nonetheless, the novels he wrote toward the outset of his life depict Anglo-American relations from a significant transformed angle. It is often said that at this stage James had entirely adapted to the European way of life. He realised the concept he held of America had been outworn by time, and gradually, the analysis of transatlantic relations acquired further complexity.

Throughout his works, the American writer Henry James demonstrated a privileged insight into the transatlantic relations between Europeans and Americans toward the end of the nineteenth-century. Focusing on young Americans or Europeans performing a rite of passage through a journey to the other side of the Atlantic, James' description of the coming-of-age of such individuals reflects the complexity of the relations between both continents.

Either Americans travelling to Europe or Europeans moving to America, the characters in Henry James' novels encounter a culture which they have long imagined, and now are required to contemplate. In Europe, Americans face a traditional culture of conventions that often overwhelms them. In America, Europeans, or Americans who return home after some time abroad, often feel alienated in an ever-changing nation whose mindset inevitably collides with their own developed in Europe.

The aim of this article is to describe the transatlantic relationships established between Americans and Europeans in both *Daisy Miller* and *Washington Square* within the framework of Transatlantic Studies, in which ways the transatlantic journeys undergone by literary characters affect and reflect their personal and national coming-of-age, and how Henry James' conception of Europe and America transformed, as he matured as a writer and his understanding of both continents gained complexity.

1. British America, American Studies, and Postnationalism: From Area Studies to Transatlanticism

During the nineteenth-century, literary studies took for granted the existence of 'literature in English'. From time to time, some theorists would take notice of several national differences, but their usual approach was to discuss American works in an interchangeable way with British ones. Nevertheless, in the twentieth century, discussions about literature in English gradually gave way to the study of literature as a domain nationally defined, eventually leading to the establishment of American literature as a separate field and American studies as a separate discipline; a change that arose mainly as a result of the British indifference to all but the most distinguished American writers.

Despite the fact a few critics continued to read across national borders, the study of British literature and the study of American literature proceeded along separate ways for much of the twentieth century. Only in the past two decades have literary scholars returned to the nineteenth-century practice of reading American and British works alongside one another. As Scott Eric Kaufman notices, the historian David Armitage begins his seminal "Three concepts of Atlantic History" (2002), by announcing that "we are all Atlanticists now", and similarly one of the founders of transatlantic literary studies, Lawrence Buell, mentions that "these days […] look like boom times for trans-Atlantic studies."

Along the lines of transatlantic studies, there are also different foci of study. Some scholars have taken the transatlantic relation itself as their object of study; some theorists focus on the whole Anglo-American world as a whole,

while others focus on the relations between two nations within that world, which are most commonly the United States and Great Britain. Those scholars who focus on the relations between Great Britain and the United States have tended to focus on relations that have been imagined between both countries throughout history. For instance, Robert Weisbuch identifies, in nineteenth--century American literature, a tendency to imitate and revise British writings. In this respect, even more recently, Paul Giles has taken a different approach, proposing that what he calls 'the trans-Atlantic imaginary' is not structured in any stable way, but it is rather a space of projection and free play. In this way, critics who speculate about the transatlantic imaginary without attending to these material networks often emphasise British cultural authority, as is the case with Weisbuch or Buell, or rather, downplay any trace regarding the importance of cultural authority, as Giles exemplifies. In a literary marketplace created by unregulated reprinting, British authors were more celebrated and British reviewers more influential, but American readers were more numerous and American publishing houses increasingly powerful. Thus, American Studies as currently constituted (i.e. as pertaining to periods before American Studies circumscribed what was acceptable as scholarship in America) seems out of a question in our contemporary multicultural and globalised world, but it specially seems out of question, taking into consideration the virtual relations between the Anglo-American world cannot be dismissed since issues such as the construction of identities and the ways to approach their study are at stake.

As Laura Stevens (2004) has recently mentioned, the increasing interest in transatlantic relations must lie to some extent in the global preoccupations of the present (93). In this respect, some scholars have referred to the metaphor of the ocean as the basis and illustrating mirror of transatlantic relations, since the ocean involves a source of both separation and connection. The ocean is a metaphor for a late modern world understood in terms of permeable boundaries, uncertainty, or flux (Stevens 93). In addition to the ocean, some other similes have served a similar purpose. In this respect, Mary Louise Pratt's allusion to the ethnographic term transculturation to comparative literary studies, as well as Benedict Anderson's description of a nation as an 'imagined community' are among the best known of these concepts with transatlantic resonance, thus proving a shift from paradigms of isolated development to models of interrelation. Some forerunner volumes as regards transatlantic studies were Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic*, published in 1993, and Myra Jehlen and Michael Warner's anthology *The English Literatures of America, 1500*-1800, published in 1997, which have presented themselves as efforts to move beyond a nation-based understanding of identity and literary history. However, as Stevens notices, the true opposition should not be placed

between the transatlantic and the national, but rather between the transatlantic and the exceptionalist, as Joyce E. Chaplin previously explained when she precisely noted that "exceptionalism emphasises the United States' separation from the rest of the world" (Stevens 94). In any case, it is generally agreed that transatlantic studies takes for granted that nations and nationalisms can no longer be regarded in isolation.

The importance attached to transatlanticism in present-day literary studies and the increasing output of publications related to the field has led to an establishment of different tendencies within this discipline. In that respect, David Armitage has shed some light on these partial divisions through his article "Three Concepts of Atlantic History." These include 'Circum-Atlantic History,' which focuses on the Atlantic as a particular zone of exchange and interchange; 'Trans-Atlantic,' which is more explicitly comparative, and finally, 'Cis-Atlantic,' which focuses on particular places as unique locations within an Atlantic world. As Stevens notices, this division can be an enlightening starting point for literary scholars, given the emphasis placed by the author upon exchange, comparison, or independent development with reference to a broader context (95-6). In that respect, Stevens exemplifies each of Armitage's concepts through one of recently published contributions to the field by transatlantic scholars, namely Paul Giles's *Transatlantic Insurrections: British Culture and the Formation of American Literature, 1730-1860* (2001), William Donoghue's *Enlightenment Fiction in England, France, and America* (2002), and W.M.Verhoeven's edited collection *Revolutionary Histories: Transatlantic Cultural Nationalism, 1775-1815* (2002), which present these three approaches to literary studies within the Atlantic context. Moreover, it can also be argued they also operate implicitly through three tropes of transatlantic analysis, which, following the use of enlightening metaphors, Stevens refers to as the cracked mirror, the seamless garment, and the circulatory system. (96)

First of all, Paul Giles's *Transatlantic Insurrections* fits within each of Armitage's categories, the author mentions the US's and Britain's literatures emerging as heretical alternatives to each other. Similarly, Robert Weisbuch, in his seminal volume *Atlantic Double-Cross: American Literature and British Influence in the Age of Emerson* (1986), also referred to American literature as a struggle against the hegemonic specter of Britain. Images of cracked or warped mirrors, which organise his readings of many individual texts along with his broader transatlantic approach, assist in this effort to move beyond paradigms of isolation or opposition to models of distortion or burlesque (Stevens 97). Secondly, William Donoghue's *Enlightenment Fiction in England, France, and America* fits best within Armitage's category of the Trans-Atlantic because it is mainly comparative in approach. As a matter of fact, Donoghue mainly argues that the many revolutions that produced national ideologies,

identities, and ideas of state of present-day America and Europe were not in the first place part of a national, but rather of a transnational and, more particularly, transatlantic dialogue established between Europe and America. In this respect, Stevens argues the book fits more closely within Armitage's category of the Circum-Atlantic as it approaches the Atlantic as a zone of circulation (100). Finally, Verhoeven's *Revolutionary Histories* portrays the complexity of circum-atlantic and international relations were within this area of study, suggesting ways in which comparative study can be advanced by transatlantic awareness.

Tennenhouse (2006) has offered one of the most recent contributions to the field. His book, *The Importance of Being English in America: Transatlantic Literary Relations, 1750-1850*, argues that during this period American authors and readers were more interested in producing and consuming English literature than in creating, in the words of Elaine Showalter, 'a literature of their own'. Quite in a similar way, William Spengeman also claims that, even though British North America eventually broke away from English rule through attaining independence, the literature written before the War was obviously British. Thus, while Tennenhouse points to an American drive for cultural autonomy, Spengeman assumes an American lack of political autonomy. However, Tennenhouse also acknowledges that, during the period leading up to the War of Independence, the United States was indeed a British colony, but colonial Englishmen were all too aware of the fact that they were no longer inhabitants of Great Britain. In this respect he also argues American literature deals with the dilemma of how to remain English under conditions so different from those in England since, it seems clear that, after the War of Independence, the citizens of the new United States, remained aware of the fact that they were no longer subjects of Great Britain. All in all, Tennenhouse reaches the conclusion that, on the one hand, American literature could never be termed as arguably British, but on the other hand, as long as those who authored and read the literature of the new United States wanted both to maintain an English cultural identity in their own nation, neither could literature in America be assumed to be American in a pure and simple way.

Therefore, as Giles already pointed out in the first of his seminal texts, Transatlantic Studies might be said to situate itself at that awkward, liminal place where the national meets the global (2000: x). However, Giles is also keen in set a clear difference between globalisation and transnationalism as, while globalisation envisions a 'postnational' world which simply transcends national identity, transnationalism focuses instead upon the frictions and disjunctions implied by the erosion of national formations along with the various reactions and tensions which this process produces. Thus, transnationalism becomes a more complex and intricate phenomenon, further

and more deeply analysing the intricacies of transatlantic relations. In the nineteenth-century, cosmopolitan figures such as the novelist Henry James became forerunners of what was to become transatlanticism, approaching what was regarded as 'the International Theme' at the time. For Henry James and its contemporaries, internationalism basically involved a broadening of the humanist mind. However, as Giles wisely points out, in more recent times, under the influence of social and economic changes linked in various ways to the international flow of capital, the transatlantic imaginary has lost many of these more volitional aspects and has become more of a compulsive, unsettling phenomenon (2000: x).

In this respect, Kaufman and Sletthedahl (2000) also draw attention to the importance of our global situation to refer to transatlantic studies, claiming that the internationalisation of Area Studies reflects in movements that attempt to redefine and respond to expanding and globalising pressures. Thus, in the past decade much concern has been raised over the future or the direction of American Studies giving way to the reconstruction and 'internationalisation' of American Studies as a result of these expanding pressures. The actual situation of American Studies, or Area Studies for that matter, consists in the movement from a rigid national perspective to a pluralist multinational perspective, and beyond – to the fluidity of the 'transnational' (Kaufman and Sletthedahl 2000: xviii). This recent movement in this field of studies still responds to Randolph Bourne's provocative essay from 1916, "Trans-National America", in which he concluded that a monocultural, static conception of America was impossible. Thus, the transatlantic dynamic is an irresistible force of attraction and repulsion that necessarily move us beyond disciplinary and monocultural perspectives, resulting from the inexorable drive towards interdependent and more global perspectives. Thus, as Kaufman and Sletthedahl conclude, Transatlantic Studies is an evolving area of study, foretelling that it is through international scholarship that its boundaries will be examined further. As a proof of the development of these studies, Paul Giles, in his second contribution to the field, discussed that the development of American literature appears in a different light when read against the grain of British cultural imperatives, just as British literature itself reveals strange and unfamiliar aspects that are brought into play by the reflecting mirrors of American discourse (2001: 1). As he argues, one of the reasons for focusing upon British and American cultures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is to show how the emergence of autonomous and separate political identities during this era can be seen as intertwined with a play of opposites.

Most scholars considering American culture in the light of postcolonial theory have posited hierarchical dichotomies between the different sides of the Atlantic. In that respect, Jennifer DeVere Brody, for instance, has discussed

ways in which the 'high' moral superiority of Victorian English culture defined itself against what could be categorised as 'low' and American. (Giles 2001: 2). However, through a gradual process of evolution, British and American cultural narratives tended to develop not so much in opposition but rather as heretical alternatives to each other (2). Therefore, instead of the 'narrow binaries' pitting oppression against emancipation, the 'bifocal' aspects linked to divisions within post-Revolutionary American produced a culture that looked in different directions simultaneously, as a matter of both transnational convergence and interference. In this respect, Giles makes further reference to Randolph Bourne's 1916 essay, "Trans-National America", which denounces the ruling class of Anglo-Saxon descendants in the American, and takes issue with what he conceives as the English tendency to think of Americans 'incorrigibly as colonials'. In a similar way, F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance*, published in 1941, also takes further notice of the primary and primeval American opposition to British literature. Thus, according to Giles (2001), both Bourne and Matthiessen attempted to modernise and democratise the study of American culture, trying to move it away from its dependence on British models. Even more recently, *in Atlantic Double-Cross* (1986), Weisbuch takes his direction from Harold Bloom as he describes how American authors in the 'age of Emerson' sought deliberately to defend their imaginative scope against the more stifling modes of British empiricism.

Later on, Giles (2002) coined the concept of virtuality to refer to the ways in which representations of the United States have been transformed from mythic to virtual phenomena. In this way, his book *Virtual Americas* tackles points of intersection between the United States and Great Britain, thus gaining insight into the ways American writers have appropriated and reinvented aspects of English culture, and conversely, the projections of American culture that may be found in the writing of British subjects. By relating British culture to its American counterpart, Giles also discusses wider issues in relation to the definition and status of literatures in English. From this perspective, the various crossovers between British and American literature might engender double-edged discourses liable to destabilise traditional hierarchies and power relations, thereby illuminating the epistemological boundaries of both national cultures, that is, Americans introducing elements of strangeness into British culture, just as British traditions shadow the democratic designs of the American republic (Giles 2002: 5). Likewise, studies of national culture as an entity in itself have suffered from an increasingly uncertain theoretical base since the 1960s, as the intellectual fortunes of structuralism have declined. Thus, as a theoretical idea, virtualisation is commensurate with some of the most familiar themes in American intellectual history. For instance, William James discussed all cognition as a form of 'virtual knowledge', where the

process of knowing involves 'continuous transition' between prior categories and the experiences of the observer. Likewise, transnationalism has a specific history, often connected to developments in communications technology and the various metaphorical displacements associated with them, and that canonical American authors often appear in quite a different light if they are examined through the matrix of a transnational rather than a national narrative.

Even beyond the legacy of Britain (Giles 2001) and the concept of virtuality in transatlantic studies (Giles 2002), Giles's *Atlantic Republic* (2006) reverses the traditional course of Anglo-American relations, tracing now the heritage of the United States both as a place and as an idea in the work of English writers from 1776 to the present day. The book argues that America haunts the English literary tradition as a parallel space where ideology and aesthetics are configured differently, ending with a consideration of ways in which the canon of English literature might appear in a different light if seen from a transnational rather than a familiar national perspective. Weisbuch's main thesis is that the United States has operated both literally and metaphorically for English writers as a locus of dissent (Giles 2006: 1). Giles sheds light on the fact these subservient relations could be traced back along historical lines. In this respect, he suggests that English writers who saw themselves as engaged with traditions of disestablishment and republicanism often looked back consciously to the 16th and 17th centuries as the era when these kinds of religious and political disputed first began to create ruptures within British society. Thus, the historical legacies of the Reformation and schism might be seen as powerful precursors of transnationalism in their common emphasis on division and rupture. In this respect, just as the short-lived English republic of the 1640s and 1650s positioned itself in theoretical opposition to the monarchy, and just as the American insurrectionists of the 1770s and 1780s chose on principle to dissociate themselves from the British realm, so a wide range of writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries sought to bring alternative philosophical and stylistic perspectives into the British cultural domain (Giles 2006: 4).

In addition to Giles' important contributions to the field, Robert Weisbuch's *Atlantic Double-Cross* (1995), also proved pivotal. His view of Anglo-American literary relations concerns the joys and sorrows of both British cultural stability and American instability since, as Weisbuch admits, the British nineteenth-century would hardly appear to Englishmen as any proof of national stability. Actually, the worries occasioned by social upheaval would goal the British into pressing more insistently their disadvantage, however relative, of cultural continuity. In addition, American writers required of themselves literary qualities that would set their works apart

from European and particularly from English literary models. Thus, while the American writer could consider the centuries of British literature before the establishment of America as a common inheritance, he commonly derogates his British contemporary or near-contemporary because he needs to do that. Therefore it is usually the case that it is precisely with the more recent British writers that the American has his quarrel. In this respect, Weisbuch admits finding enmity the keynote of Anglo-American literary relations in the mid-nineteenth-century (1995: xviii). Weisbuch thus contends that the American writer begins from a defensive position and that the achievements of British literature and British national life are the chief intimidations against which he, as American representative, defends himself. It is in this context that he coins his concept of actualism as the most dramatic difference between the British and American literatures of the nineteenth-century. By actualism, he implies the attempt to make literary vision literally available to everyday living, that is, Weisbuch's actualism involves mimeticism in reverse, life imitating art, and in a manner having nothing to do with fin de siècle aestheticism and everything to do with the sense of the possible in dawn-driven America (Weisbuch 1995: 207). Therefore, from an actualist position, Americans would consider his English contemporary as limited, while they may also engage in a fugitive wish to be more like him. Weisbuch concludes his thesis arguing that the American writers presented both assertions of actualism and ontological uncertainty at the same time.

As Spender points out, different views and positions were held in relation to Europe and America. On one side of this line there were the writers who reacted against the English tradition on the grounds that it robbed Americans of the freedom to realise the life 'on native grounds' that was so different from the European. These writers regarded England and its traditions as undermining their freedom of development. On the other side of the dividing line were those writers who saw America as deadened by its 'materialism', and Europe as the centre of spiritual values. Thus, American literary relations with England consisted, until recently, largely of Americans – Emerson, Hawthorne, James, Eliot and many others – comparing their country with an England which was predominantly of the dead. Until the end of the First World War, American writers coming to Europe, were able to feel that they were at the centre of the civilisation. Americans who arrived there after 1918 were not able to do so with the same certainty. After the war the centre of the main energies of the West was no longer Paris or London, but New York and Chicago. Conversely, if comparing their idea of European civilisation with their own country's force and vitality, the position of English writers with regard to the United States had no parallel, since America did not provide such standards of comparison. As Spender mentions, a hundred years ago,

England had over America what Emerson called 'the immense advantage'. American thoughts, he wrote, were English thoughts. Today it would be as true to say that America has the advantage over Europe. European thoughts are American thoughts.

Spender further notices the position of the American within the relationship established with England at the time. In this respect, according to Spender, the American going to Europe commonly sees himself as the returning prodigal son, but a prodigal son who has made good. Moreover, having got to Europe, the American expatriate sometimes dramatises himself as being more native than the natives. If, like James and Eliot, he effectively becomes a citizen of a new country of his residence, then he speaks with more authority than the natives themselves. They remain in fact very consciously American, while dividing their world into four categories: incorrigible Americans; authentic foreigners; Americans who have entered into the Europe; and tourists. In this respect, as Cristopher Mulvey (1983) mentions, it may well be surprising to discover quite how many famous literary figures did in fact write travel books (3). English lecturers went to America for fame and money, while American clergymen went to Europe for rest and recuperation. Americans of all dispositions made reference to their childhood as they approached and as they first explored England. The Englishman was more likely to speak of his or his reader's ignorance of America. Henry James said that the American mind had a 'latent preparedness' for English life. The reverse held true for the English mind and American life. There were no rooted childhood ties. It was likely that the American had a more lively and more accurate perception of England then the Englishman had of America. The Englishman had usually read little about the United States. The Englishman in America was on the look out for England, while an American did not look for America in England.

In relation to Giles' virtualism, Weisbuch's actualism, and Mulvey's classification of Americans travelling to Europe, Tennenhouse (2006) has recently referred to the concept of diaspora in order to gain insight into transatlantic studies. As he contends, where a first concept of diaspora maintains the connection between home and migrant community and expressed that community's desire to return home eventually, a second meaning displaces the homeland with a reproduction of signature practices suited to the new cultural conditions and capable of distinguishing the group from other migrant groups in a nation imagined as a relational system of such differences. The two concepts of diaspora are not opposed, but exist on a continuum, and can be applied along the lines of the historical evolution of Anglo-American relations.

To sum up, it is worth taking into account the different stages through which Anglo-American relations, and by extension, transatlantic studies have

developed. As Manning and Taylor mention in one of the most outstanding and recent contributions to the field, American Studies was an indirect product of the post-Second Wold War attempt to stabilise and propagate 'American values'. This choice perpetuated an image of the United States as 'different': enclosed, self-contained, isolated from cultural and intellectual currents emanating from the Old World (1) Such a model of complicity, where literary texts are deployed to shore up and enforce a national self-image, has come under scrutiny by new conceptual orientations that resituate the United States – and the American continent more widely – in a global context. With the passing of the rigidities and binary oppositions of the Cold War, scholars began to read the Americas through different frameworks. This has characterised the rhetoric of American history and politics at least since the Revolutionary War of Independence of 1776-83. In this respect, despite the novelty of transatlanticism as a discipline, American writing has always concerned itself with relations and dialogues, since the very questioning of a largely Romantic and nineteenth-century idea of the nation-state, so that we now live in an era when national boundaries can no longer be regarded as viable categories. In this respect as Manning and Taylor contend, transatlantic studies draws attention to the ways in which, within the discipline of American Studies, ideas of crossing and connection have helped to rethink the ways the national identity has been formulated.

2. Henry James and the International Theme: Stages and Evolution

According to Shelston (1984), the international context of James' career is a factor which has to be taken into account in any consideration of his critical reputation. His commitment in both his fiction and his life to the manners and conventions of the old world could hardly be expected to have passed without comment in the new. Buzard (1993) defines the term picturesqueness wondering to what extent were travellers really abroad when their tours amounted to an array of pictures, before which they stood appreciative but detached. In this respect, picturesqueness had the effect of turning a real Continent into mere pictures. Such texts mark a century of development between picturesque tourism and a consolidating modern ethnology devoted to comprehending the 'well-rounded' character of life. At the midpoint of that century, Henry James was writing letters and essays home from Europe. The 'typical American' James envisions offers nonetheless the greatest reverence and most steadfast guardianship for pictorial Europe. For many Americans, the totality 'Europe' could inspire the same intimations of authenticity and alterity that arose for Britons from contemplation of the 'Continent'. In the nearly four dozen essays collected in *Transatlantic Sketches and Portraits of*

Places, 'Europe' hovers before the young James. Conscious of his position as an American writing for his compatriots, James consistently stresses the meaningfully different and picturesque. On the one hand is the projection of a non-utilitarian, traditional culture of 'crookedness'; on the other, the fantasy that the European place is a theatre set or painting, created expressly to satisfy the American appetite. James is both attracted and repelled (37).

Kenneth Graham (1995) discusses Henry James' biography as a case in point of the movement from picturesqueness to gaining insight and knowledge into culture. As he argues, exactly between two abysses – one American, the other primarily European – lay the span of James' life as a writer (Graham 1). James actually did not make his first independent journey to Europe until 1869, when he was 26, and it was not up to 1875 that he officially left the family nest and settled definitely in Europe. What is of interest in this important phase of his career is therefore not just the movement out of America to Europe, but the important presence of both continents in his consciousness. As always with James, the pattern is one of unresolved interplay, of not quite exclusive opposites, rather than of clear-cut choice. There were, it is true, two very extensive and important trips to Europe during these years – one in 1869 and one in 1872-4 – but the fact remains that the writer was now officially and practically based in the American scene, from his return from Europe in 1870 to his final departure in 1875.

It is noticeable that, at this stage, James produced two works with a European and American background. In *Daisy Miller*, which was his first work to be initially published in England, we are presented with the portrait of the disturbing newcomer or stranger, who challenges a static or self-protective society and situation, and thereby endorses the romantic principles of growth, mystery, and life-as-flux as against the oppressiveness of stale convention, petty rationality, and order. Despite its European setting, as Graham notices, it became a talking point on both sides of the Atlantic, exciting some censure from Americas for its not uncritical portrayal of American girlhood. On the other hand, only two years later, James published *Washington Square*, whose setting is mostly based in America. While James' final decision was to live in Europe, the pages of his autobiography are also filled with early memories of New York, mainly of Washington Place, where he was born. If in *Daisy Miller*, the innocent individual is faced with a corruptive society in a foreign environment, in *Washington Square*, there is an examination of the stresses between action and contemplation, money-making and the imagination in America.

The change from America to Europe in real life, the shift in setting from Europe in *Daisy Miller* to America in *Washington Square*, as well as the evolving envisioning of both American heroines, Daisy and Catherine, should also be examined in the light of the James' contemporary reception of his nationalism.

In this respect, Stafford (1955) argues that no aspect of Henry James and his work excited more controversy among his American contemporaries than did the question of his nationalism (69). That James spent the better part of his life in Europe, and that he finally became a British citizen were all factors that made James' case a special one, leading to a pronounced critical attack on his supposed ingratitude to America. R.N.Foley, who has made the definitive study of James's contemporary reputation in American periodicals, called forth expressions of dislike for his supposed scorn of his native land.

However, James' friend William Dean Howells and others did not hesitate to defend his Americanism. As Stafford points out, William Dean Howells claimed that James always upheld the best qualities of Americans, but he merely felt that he was best able to articulate those qualities in a European setting (70). The last literary activity in which Howells was engaged before his death was also concerned with this aspect of his friend James' work – an earnest defence of his Americanism against those who violently attacked him upon his becoming a British citizen in 1915. We see in that defence three distinct stages. Having begun early in life to attack those who would question James' nationalism, he moves to a clear elucidation of the positive American qualities in James' work, and, at the end of his life, he progresses into an intended exposition of the American qualities not only of James' work but of the man himself. In this respect, Howells becomes almost a microcosm of this aspect of the contemporary criticism of Henry James.

As Stafford further notices, the remaining criticism of James 'the American' falls into three large categories: that which would attack James for supposed nationalistic deficiencies, that which would find fault in such judgements, and finally, that which would extract and elucidate the peculiar American qualities in his work and in the man. The attack on James' Americanism manifested itself in various ways. One frequently appearing attack charged that James insufficiently understood the American character. Another objection was that it was a mistaken notion to think that a monarchical society is better for the novel to depict than a democratic one. Still another manifestation of this attack is seen in a survey conducted by the *Literary Digest* in 1915 of the newspaper reaction to James' having become a British citizen. Finally, there was also Joel Chandler Harris, who believed James' international position was doing serious harm to the American local colour movement. In a middle position between Howells and those who clearly complained about James' position, there were also those who merely incidentally defended James' Americanism. According to a fair representative of them, H.A.Beers, James, in having become 'half-denationalised', had thereby gained a curious doubleness in his point of view which permitted him to look at America with the eyes of a foreigner and at Europe with the eyes of an American. As Stafford admits,

not until 1904 did the question of James' expatriation again undergo a critical discussion, leaving behind these passionate prejudices. In that year, Herbert Croly, significantly the later editor of *The New Republic*, discussed the whole nature of James' expatriation, reaching the conclusion that James did not soon or easily decide to leave America: the final decision came only after a decade (1872-1882) of conscientious experimentation. It was argued that what he gained was 'a moral and mental detachment'. America itself is so in the making, is so marked by flux, is so full of activity and endeavour rather than observation for his interests are just those that are impossible in America. His characters are not interested in trade, in politics. James refuses to deal with action and achievement; it is just such factors in which America is interested.

There were, however, other good critics who saw in James a significantly intransigent Americanism. In 1907 F.T.Cooper saw that *The American Scene*, *The Ambassadors* and James's biography, the three together forming a 'trilogy of expatriation.' Cooper thereby sees in James an admittedly special but nonetheless valid and extremely rewarding bit of Americana. The other major treatment of James the American by a contemporary critic is Elizabeth Luther Cary's examination of the problem. Like Howells, she categorically specifies Americanism as the one salient quality of his characters. Thus, following the intemperate and uncritical attacks on James's supposed lack of patriotism that first drew the attention of such admirers, the focus was shifted to the nationalistic qualities of his writings. Thus, as Tintner (1995) contends, it becomes plausible to argue that James's imagination stretched beyond the 'international theme' of his early phase to the 'cosmopolitan theme' of his later works, cosmopolitanism implying that national allegiances and identities have been superseded by citizenship in the world, being well aware that this cosmopolitanism is, perhaps, more available to Americans than to Europeans (393). Actually, although it is widely recognised that the international theme was peculiarly his, Cargill (1958) already argued that James is not quite the inventor of the international novel, as William Dean Howells already observed many years ago in his introduction to *Daisy Miller* (418). He had previously ascribed the invention of this type of fiction to the Baroness Tautphoeus, an English woman living in Bavaria whose first novel, *The Initials*, was published in 1850. Henry James had read *The Initials* as a small boy and it had made sufficient impression for him to remember the occasion to the end of his life. In addition, several stories by James' friend and master, Ivan Turgenev, offer as much by way of suggestion for the creation of the international novel as does *The Initials*.

In addition to James' creation and development of the international theme in his novels, the autobiographical component attached to this cannot be denied. James' family and original background needs to be explored for

that matter. As Volpe (1956) admitted, in most of Henry James' international novels an 'American Innocent' is ensnared in a complicated web of European social and moral intrigue. What makes the protagonists a special type is their moral character – their naturalness, their innocence. But in James' autobiography he did describe the social and moral atmosphere which alone could have produced the special type he found so attractive. As Volpe notices, the moral qualities he ascribes to his cousins are in many ways similar to those which characterise the American Innocents. The naturalness of these growing girls guaranteed their innocence. It has commonly been argued that Minny Temple, James' cousin, was the original American Innocent of all his fiction (Volpe 347). To the old manners and conditions, James attributed the innocence and naturalness of the young people in the family circle. The essence of the old conditions was freedom. By contrast, some of the contemporaries of his youth were given a different kind of upbringing, 'the trained and admonished, the disciplined and governessed type (Volpe: 347). This difference in family upbringing seems to echo closely the evolution from *Daisy Miller* to *Washington Square*, from the innocent American heroine to the puritanical and modest Catherine.

As far as education is concerned, James was to receive a moral and spiritual education, liberal and as eclectic as possible. As Swan (1969) notices, James was an American, of Irish antecedents, but America seemed to him a continent too immature for the production of great literature, while Europe was ancient and ripe with tradition, while it also represented that romantic 'otherness' which seemed to be so necessary to him as an artist. Europe had special qualities with which America could never compete. Paris was the town whose intellectual and social influence he needed most, and in 1875, the year after writing his first novel, *Roderick Hudson*, which is set in Italy, he arrived in Paris. As Swan contends, James' Puritanism, which in America had seemed almost non-existent in comparison with that around him, became more apparent in France. However, it was in London where he was to find the Europe he looked for. He wrote to his mother at the end of his first few months there that he had taken very kindly to London, and felt immensely contented at having come there, to the extent he boasted he must have been born a Londoner. Actually, London remained his home to the end of his life, until at the outbreak of 1914 War, he decided to become a British citizen.

Thus, as Swan notices, his choice was made for the old world. He was then ready to write his novels of the 'international situation' in which he hoped that his readers would be unable to tell whether he was an American writing with knowledge about English people or an Englishman writing with knowledge about Americans. At first, he felt inevitably detached in England, and became concerned about the problem of 'knowing' England in a way

the English could never know it. Nevertheless, progressively, he became more and more an Englishman, sharing in those taboos and conventions in which, during his first years in England, he had no more than a detached interest. As Swan notices, by the late eighties, he had become tired of the 'international situation' mainly because he was more in tune with English than with American life, and the novels of his second period are set in Europe. However, he visited America in 1903, where he found many of the conditions here too deterrent for the artist, to the extent he described his homeland as an extraordinary world, but nevertheless, almost cruelly charmless. Perhaps for that reason, and the upsurge of passion for England at the outbreak of the great war, he decided to become a British citizen.

Leon Edel, James' biographer, divided the writer's mature career into three parts. In the first, which culminated with *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), he felt his way toward and appropiated the so-called international theme – the drama, comic and tragic, of Americans in Europe and occasionally of Europeans in America. In the tripartite second period, he experimented with diverse themes and forms, social and political currents of the 1870s and 1880s, then with writing for the theater, and finally with shorter fictions that explore the relationship of artists to society, and the troubled psychology of oppressed children and haunted or obsessed men and women. In James's last period – the so-called major phase – he returned to international or cosmopolitan subjects. Similarly, in order to gain insight into James' evolution of his international theme as an artistic counterpart to his personal relationship with both his homeland, America, and his adopting country, England, Swan also establishes three main stages, as well as three novels which best represent his three periods, *Roderick Hudson* (1876), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881) and *The Golden Bowl* (1904), also delineating his artistic evolution from simple statements to more psychologically subtle and complex endeavours. Thus, James' ideas of Europe and America gain complexity as he moves more attached to Europe and detached from America. In this respect, as Tony Tanner shows, a passage from a letter to Thomas Sergeant Perry written in 1867 is worth bearing in mind:

> We are Americans born […]. I look upon it as a great blessing; and I think that to be an American is an excellent preparation for culture. We have exquisite qualities as a race, and it seems to me that we are ahead of the European races in the fact that more than either of them we can deal freely with forms of civilisation not our own (qtd. by Tanner I: 10).

Nonetheless, in November, 1881, Henry James has returned to America, and while he was sitting in a Boston hotel, he wrote in his notebook:

> I am 37 years old, I have made my choice, and God knows that I have now no time to waste. My choice is the old world […]. The burden is necessarily

> greater for an American – for he must deal, more or less, even if only by implication, with Europe; whereas no European is obliged to deal in the least with America. (qtd. in Tanner II: 5)

According to Tanner (1979), as a general rule, James' 'international theme' often introduces the moral consciousness of the American into the rich cultural atmosphere and tradition of Europe, thus dramatising the confrontation of different schemes of values, showing the provincialism of the American grouping in the European social landscape, dense with moral ambiguities, saturated in history, and dominated by old precedents, manners, and sophistications. However, it would be a great mistake to regard James' internationalism as simply contrasting American 'innocence' with European 'experience'. Actually, there is hardly ever any radical or clearly-cut sense of American goodness succumbing to European deviousness. As Tanner admits, most of his morally culpable and evil intriguers are ex-patriate Americans, who have remained too long abroad, thus projecting the mirror onto his own situation as an American living in Europe, leaving behind his American homeland and becoming more attached to the English way of life. However, the historical, geographical, and above all, cultural circumstances of the time should not be neglected. As transatlanticist theorists have pointed out, the relationship established between both countries during the nineteenth-century was not so radically different from the close current relations established between both nations nowadays; a relation of influence and separation that plays an important role especially from an American perspective, and this is the reason why James could be defined as thoroughly nationalist.

Actually, despite his obvious choice for the old world as he admits lately in his life, James remains a cultural nationalist committed to the American pragmatist project of fluid non-identity (Giles 2002: 93). Thus, Giles cherishes an image of James as an avatar of emancipation whose native genius involved the familiar American capacity for unsettling conventional categories and boundaries. In this respect, James remains in line with American traditions of democratic renewal. James reversed the presuppositions of America by confronting them with Europe, and vice versa. Thus, James' work emerges out of the late Victorian and early modernist era, when the identification of national characteristics was being consolidated rather than radically interrogated. Actually, as Giles (2002) admits, throughout James' long career as a novelist, therefore, the idea of transnationalism is associated not so much with a deconstruction of the whole idea of race and nation, mainly from an English-based – not American-based- perspective. It is in this context where James' international theme arises, involving the 'highly-civilised' business of breaking through these boundaries (Giles 2002: 99). In this sense, James' own ghost stories – notably, "The Turn of the Screw", firstly published in

1898 – exemplify this line of association between mental disturbance and ancestral haunting, that is, a principled rejection of what is straight and straightforward. As Giles (2002) contends, the traversal of national identity works in parallel with the traversal of other kinds of identity. In this respect, Giles also notices another possible classification of James' evolution as far as his international works are concerned, stating that it is especially in James' twentieth-century fictions, where stable allegorical typologies always tend toward a state of fracture and fissure. Indeed, this might be one way to distinguish them stylistically from his nineteenth-century works, where the allegorical equations remain more securely intact (104).

While Giles focuses on James' fluidity and attempt at destabilising any nation-based presumptions, Weisbuch centres on this precise quality in James to highlight his pivotal and importance as a forerunner of transatlantic studies and as a way to prove his nationalism taking into consideration the cultural and historical circumstances of his time. James identifies an American cultural earliness relative to Britain, while he attempts to cure its ills by creating a distinctly American maturity. Once Americans are willing to distinguish themselves from British literature, accepting some influences and belittling others, they are pacing the path towards a perspective freed of nationalism. According to Weisbuch, it was not until Henry James that the Anglo-American struggle was tackled with a fullness that allows it to be automatically left behind. In this respect, according to Weisbuch, it is clear that James, in writing international novels, even though he did not produce the first one, he was really writing the Anglo-American novel (279). In this respect, taking into account his context as an America and the situation if nineteenth-century post-independent America, James can sound the note of defensive nationalism perfectly (Weisbuch: 279).

It is precisely towards the end of this clear-cut difference between European and America is left behind that in a 1888 letter James wrote to his brother William: "For myself, at any rate, I am deadly weary of the whole 'international' state of mind […] I aspire to write in such a way that it would be impossible to an outsider to say whether I am at a given moment an American writing about England or an Englishman writing about America" (qtd. by Weisbuch 280). Consequently, at this stage, for James England and America constitute 'a big Anglo-Saxon total', and he sums himself up in that totality. This is not to say, as Weisbuch carefully notices, that James' American identity is at stake. Actually, James insists on his American identity, as he points to the fact that American earliness, by a paradox, makes for maturity. By the strength of the American now to employ history as a collection of human possibilities from which one can choose favorites to form a self, James hopes for "a vast intellectual fusion" (Weisbuch: 281). At this stage, James

acknowledged that only an American could end the quarrel, an American authentically international with an effective loyalty to England and yet a self-confirmed American.

3. Coming of Age from Europe to America and Vice Versa: The Case of *Daisy Miller* and *Washington Square*

James moved to London in late 1876, and *Daisy Miller* was the first work James published which brought about a greater recognition. In Rome, during the autumn of 1877, James ran into a friend, Alice Bartlett, who informed him of some gossip concerning an uncultivated young American girl who had visited Rome the previous winter. The young lady had picked up a good-looking Roman, of vague identity, astonished at his luck, yet all innocently, all serenely exhibited and introduced. These simple words of gossip led James to his creation of the innocent, yet dangerously flirtatious young Daisy Miller. In this manner he took to writing *Daisy Miller* during the winter of 1877-78 in London. American editors saw the story as an affront to American womanhood, a satiric attack on the heroine as a representative ill-mannered American girl.

When *Daisy Miller* was firstly published in 1878, many Americans read it with indignation. It was interpreted as 'an outrage on American girlhood'. In this respect, William Dean Howells wrote to the author that society almost divided itself into Daisy-Millerites and anti-Daisy-Millerites. As a consequence, in 1909, James conscientiously attempted to supply for the definitive edition the psychological depth and nuances which he felt were lacking in the 1878 version. As Dubar (1950) points out in relation to the revisions James introduced in *Daisy Miller* when James revised this story in 1909 for the New York Edition, James made the ironic discovery that Daisy, far from being a slander, was really an idealised treatment of the American girl. Most of the changes which he introduced that have more than a purely stylistic purpose emphasise Daisy's charm, the disagreeableness of her critics, and the innocence of her conduct. The result is to increase the reader's sympathy for Daisy. By associating his heroine with natural imagery the suggested the innocent naturalness of her behaviour. As Daisy grows more attractive, her critics grow less so. She does care, though, about the opinion of her Europeanised compatriot, Winterbourne. When she discovers that he condemns her, she has no wish to live. The interpretation of Daisy really hinges on Winterbourne's reaction, for it is through his eyes that we most see her, eventually bringing out clearly that her conduct is ambiguous only because viewed in the light of Europeanised standards. Thus, in the revision James makes plain that Daisy is a new experience which Winterbourne doesn't know how to interpret. The

reader of the revised version of *Daisy Miller* cannot miss the point that Daisy is as innocent as she is beautiful. James has underlined that she is a charming, spontaneous American girl who is the victim of rigid social conventions mostly on the part of her Europeanised compatriots.

Noticing her American qualities, Coffin (1958) referred to the Americanness of James' heroine *Daisy Miller*, defining her as a pretty typical of Henry James' American in Europe, while trying to portray the subtleties that distinguish the American upper-class girl from her European counterparts. Daisy baffles Winterbourne, who has lived too long in foreign parts, with her lack of complexity and the openness of her motives. He, like other sophisticates, cannot read simplicity. This same inability, of course, also causes Roman society to reject Daisy. But, like the typical western hero, Daisy was willing to rely on her own judgement and so befriend Giovanelli in defiance of society. Nevertheless, the independence of thought and action, the self-imposed morality, the laudable innocence, the straightforward distrust of subtlety and 'front' that have become hallmarks of the western hero are all carefully drawn into *Daisy Miller* to give her her American nature. *Daisy Miller* was published in 1879. The cowboy formula began to develop in the actual boom of the 70s and 80s and was crystallised in Owen Wistar's *The Virginian* in 1902. This was the era of Teddy Roosevelt, Jack London, and the glorification of the outlaw. Frederick Jackson Turner brought out his famous thesis on the nature of America and the West, contending that the advance of the frontier has meant steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. In those years between 1880 and 1914 the nation was becoming a world power. And the American they saw, and in some cases glorified, was disturbingly free and disturbingly disrespectful of society's laws.

According to Kar (1953), *Daisy Miller* responds to a common impulse to examine the European versus the American solutions under the major problem of social morality (31). As opposed to the European, James' young American girls supported to Matthew Arnold's description of feminine charm in the United States as exemplifying the charm of a natural manner, a manner not self-conscious, artificial, and constrained. Thus, Daisy Miller as a representative character, illustrates inviolable innocence compounded with instinctive moral judgement. That such innocence is a peculiarly American quality is suggested by the gross misinterpretations of Daisy by Roman society. Daisy is never fully aware of their position as alien before representatives of a society which regards itself as unmistakably superior to their own. Such unawareness constitutes one important aspect of her personality. In contrast to Daisy, Winterbourne is a young man particularly sensitive to differences in social tradition. While the opposition in Daisy is between the city-bred

sophisticate and the provincial, the opposition in Winterbourne's case is that between cosmopolitanism and intense Americanism. Daisy is surrounded by organised society on all sides at both Vevey and Rome. She has the option of submitting to its demands, and losing her identity, in return for the prospect of eventual social acceptance, or of rebelling against its conventions. Daisy attaches herself to Giovanelli who inspires the disapproval of Winterbourne. The decision in favour of personal intervention renders Winterbourne actively implicated in Daisy's fate. Winterbourne's application of the moral principle to Daisy's action is as much an innovation for him as is the fact of his growing interest in a young woman of her apparent inexperience. Winterbourne is judging Daisy by a higher standard than he has hitherto applied to women. Consequently, his mistake lies in thinking that she violates it, instead of perceiving she embodies it.

By contrast, although Winterbourne defends Daisy to the American colony in Rome publicly, he is, privately, increasingly shocked. He knows, for a moment at the end of the novella, that he has made a mistake, he knows he has wronged Daisy because he has stayed too long abroad, and has become too rigid in his values as a result. However, his knowledge does not really change him. The authorial voice concludes the tale by mocking Winterbourne's return to the narrow and social code of restraint and prejudice. Thus, like so many Jamesian heroes, Winterbourne has lost the capacity for love, and he has lost the opportunity to come to life. As Winterbourne judges Daisy and regards her unfairly, he agrees to her expulsion from the American set in Rome.

James thus gives his full approval neither to the manners of restraint nor to those of freedom. His irony touches Daisy as well as the Europeanised Americans. To be from Schenectady, to be from the new world, is to be free from the restrictions of Geneva. But merely to be free is not enough. Jamesian dynamics of social contrast gives us our prudent and complex estimate of Daisy – a heroine innocent, exuberant and free, but also unreflective and insensible of the world around her. Daisy dies as a result of social indiscretion. In this respect, as Ohmann contends, James began writing *Daisy Miller* as a comedy of manners and finished it as a symbolic presentation of a metaphysical ideal. He began by criticising Daisy in certain ways and ended simply by praising her. However, gradually, James eases his criticism of Daisy and bears down more heavily on the Europeanised Americans. James' unmistakable signs of shifting authorial intention and attitude betray how the international theme gained intricacy throughout his career, while at the same time, James tried to please his American audience by praising Daisy. This dual situation echoes James' dual position within his own international context.

If Daisy has often been perceived as a really American heroine, *Washington Square* is a thoroughly American novel, since the characters are American as is

the setting. Indeed, Washington Square is the neighbourhood in which Henry James was born. Henry James was living in London at the time, but he wrote the story while in Paris. Most of the novel's drama occurs during the early 1840s, when Dr Sloper is around fifty years old and Catherine is about twenty years old. By the end of the novel, and Dr Sloper's death, it is nearly 1850s. What is beyond dispute is that this novel does take great pains to illustrate 'old New York', a society that was beginning to undergo serious change by the early 1880s. When James returns to the United States in the early 1900s, he returns to his childhood neighbourhood and finds that so much has departed. At that time, many of the old homes and social circles of Washington Square had disappeared. Just as Catherine becomes an expert on old customs and a guardian of the past, Henry James seeks to document the old customs of Old New York in this work.

In order to discuss the Americanness of James' *Washington Square*, Emmet Long (1973) has focused on how James' early interest in the imagination of Hawthorne persisted throughout his career, thus raising, by extension, certain questions about the American aspect of James' fiction. James had written to William Dean Howells that he had tried to make *Washington Square* 'a tale truly American'. First, it will be necessary to notice how *Washington Square* came into being. The *donnée* of the novel, furnished by James' friend, the actress Frances Kemble, is recorded in his notebook entry of February 21st, 1879. Mrs Kemble had related the story of her brother's engagement many years before to a 'dull, plain, commonplace girl' who stood to inherit a fortune from her father. Young Kemble was an extraordinarily handsome young ensign, he was selfish, and interested in the girl only for her money. The girl's father disapproved of the engagement and threatened to disinherit his daughter if she should marry Kemble. Convinced that the father meant to keep his word, Kemble jilted her. Later after he died, and the girl came into her inheritance. Perhaps ten years after the engagement, Kemble returned to England from knocking about in the world, and once again sought to pay his addresses to her. She turned him away, even though she cared for no other man (574).

His treatment was almost certainly indebted to Balzac, as Cornelia Kelley has demonstrated in *The Early Development of Henry James* (1965). "Both girls," Miss Kelley points out, "are fundamentally good; both are somewhat plain physically; both have reached their twenties; without knowing the meaning of love; each story is the account of what a cruel father and false suitor between them can do to a sensitive nature" (qtd by Long 576). In *Washington Square*, the action proceeds from Dr Sloper's psychological history and fixation as they act in the austerity of their social world. In *Washington Square*, to put it another way, we see James using the method of the social 'study', James was

consciously translating the French novel of Realism to an American landscape. What placed James himself in a different tradition, is that Balzac, for all of his vitality and power, did not have a moral imagination. What placed James himself in a different tradition, is that Balzac, for all of his vitality and power, did not have a moral imagination. James also excels Balzac in his study of the inner minds of his characters. Thus, James placed himself in another tradition – with novelists such as Eliot and Hawthorne, who care for moral questions. Actually, James completed his critical biography, *Hawthorne*, in 1879, just before he began to write *Washington Square*. In this study, James praises Hawthorne especially for his concern with what he calls 'the deeper psychology.'

Bearing this in mind, it cannot really be argued, as stated by most critics, that James lacked American sources. In this respect, Poirier mentions that, lacking native material with which to work, James turned to the convention of the melodramatic fairy-tale, and then presented ironic reversals. The element of melodrama is related, furthermore, to American sources. In a letter to Howells, James does complain of the lack of paraphernalia which his New World setting in *Washington Square* imposed. But there is good reason to believe that James found American sources from which to draw, and that he found them in Hawthorne and the conventions of the gothic tale. Subsequently, James's story "An International Episode" was written shortly before *Washington Square*, and in it we have a satirical view of New York as a hotel culture, and of continual expansion uptown. The men are all overworked in their business enterprises, and spend most of their lives at their offices. This reminds us of the practical and utilitarian world of New York, of which Doctor Sloper and Morris Townsend are also products. All in all, despite the fact critics have been puzzled by James' reference to *Washington Square* as a tale truly American, there is, after all, something peculiarly local and characteristic about Catherine's fate.

Thus, in *Daisy Miller*, assumed divisions between European and American characters with a special favouring of the American heroine have lately been questioned and ultimately subverted, especially when analysing James' subsequent alterations of his work so as to favour American audiences. In turn, *Washington Square*, despite being deeply rooted in James' hometown and siding with American Puritanism as well as American praise of profit-making, many critics have remained at odds to acknowledge *Washington Square* as an entirely American novel, mainly due to the portrait of its heroine, Catherine, who, at first sight, differs quite ostensibly from the traditionally considered American standard heroine, Daisy Miller. The positive portrait of Daisy and the rather bleak portrayal Catherine, despite being both American heroines, underlines James complex and gradual evolution with regard to his nation

throughout his career, however, no clear-cut siding with any of the nations finds justification.

In this respect, Kearns (1994) acknowledges the difference between naïve realism and principled realism when discussing James' international theme as well as his shifting perspective of Anglo-American relations. As he mentions, the most important experience a reader of *Washington Square* can have is to recognise the danger of naïve realism as practised by both the narrator and Dr Sloper, and the necessity of an attitude of principled realism. Principled realism, like pragmatism, is a method which holds that no objective truths or transcendentally privileged perspective can be found (Kearns: 769). In this sense, in *Washington Square*, Dr Sloper illustrates the effects of naïve realism, and together with the narrator, implies the superiority of principled realism. Sloper's naïve realism manifests itself in his belief that he can build a valid theory on facts which he has classified and reduced to propositions. James is himself involved in the tale, and like the characters the narrator is testing, James and Sloper seem to share a similar ironic voice. Thus, Kearns points to the fact that *Washington Square* provides readers with two alternatives, the moralistic and the moral, whereby counterpointing positive and negative traits, James prevents our simplifying the characters moralistically into villains or saints (776). Thus, the reality which James presents includes the lack of a single characterised perspective. *Washington Square* is consequently a critique of naïve realism and an implicit demonstration of the need for principled realism. Kearns even goes further to admit it would be risky but also interesting to speculate on how James might have revised *Washington Square*. He sees a pattern in the revisions similar to those in *Daisy Miller*, which intensify both Winterbourne's role as the focal point, and the reader's consciousness that the story is from that point of view. The effect of these revisions is more fully to dramatise the young man's inability to see that Daisy transcends not only his categories but his method of categorizing.

In this respect, Millicent Bell finds important thematic similarities between *Daisy Miller* and *Washington Square*, which can be appreciated through a comparative analysis of the main characters in both stories. In *Daisy Miller*, Winterbourne embodies observing consciousness. As a young American who has lived and studied in Geneva most of life, he takes on European airs. As he himself admits, "he felt that he had lived at Geneva so long that he had lost a good deal; he had become dishabituated to the American tone" (James 1999: 1500). He is often persuaded by his aunt's opinions about Daisy, but he also finds Daisy extremely alluring. Despite the fact that he is American born, it is a European, Giovanelli, who makes Winterbourne realise his final judgement of Daisy was incorrect. Nonetheless, in spite of that, Winterbourne still continues to live outside America in Geneva. As a counterpart to Winterbourne, Dr

Austin Sloper in *Washington Square* is a largely symbolic father figure, and a great man of society. However, despite being highly considered, Sloper cannot save his wife or son from death once they take ill, and his celebrity is of little use in convincing Catherine to obey his wishes. James' own ironic tone can be perceived when the narrator admits with regard to Sloper that "he was very witty and he passed in the best society of New York for a man of the world […] He was an observer, even a philosopher, and to be bright was so natural to him" (James 1982: 2).

In *Daisy Miller*, Daisy's character is a vehicle for the clash of American innocence and spontaneity with European propriety and custom. From Schenectady, she has traveled to Europe, but not too long to have become Europeanised like Winterbourne. Actually it is through his eyes that we learn to judge them when he ponders "were they all like that, the pretty girls who had a good deal of gentlemen's society? Or was she also a designing, an audacious, an unscrupulous young person? Winterbourne had lost his instinct in this matter, and his reason could not help him" (James 1999: 1500). However, Daisy merely acts on first instinct, as a symbol of America's natural innocence and looser modes of custom. She refuses to obey the rules of European society, including that of the American compatriots abroad in Europe. She dies, likely as much from Winterbourne's rejection, as the fever. As opposed to Daisy's freshness and attractiveness but not so far removed from her inner goodness, Catherine Sloper is also surrounded by dominating individuals who seek to make decisions for her. Catherine finds herself unable to live up to her father's paradigm of what a good daughter would be. Nonetheless, gradually, Catherine discovers that she is intelligent and she gains the courage to defy her father. She constantly moves between Morris' betrayal and her father's cruelty, and unlike Daisy's vitality, Catherine embodies experience and modesty. As the narrator mentions, "Catherine, who was extremely modest, had no desire to shine, and on most social occasions, as they are called, you would have found her lurking in the background" (James 1982: 9). However, while Daisy dies of the Roman fever in Europe, Catherine is perpetually enclosed in her death-in-life in old New York.

Mrs Miller, Daisy's mother, is a model of America's loosely controlling mother figure. She is the opposite of a higher class European mother because she allows her daughter to know men she has not met and permits Daisy to do as she chooses. Actually, as it mentioned, "Winterbourne observed to himself that this was a very different type of maternity from that of the vigilant matrons who massed themselves in the forefront of social intercourse in the dark old city at the other end of the lake" (James 1999: 1508). However, when Daisy is ill, she proves herself to be efficient. In turn, her counterpart in *Washington Square*, Lavinia Penniman, functions as Catherine's mother. It is

stated that "she was romantic; she was sentimental; she had a passion for little secrets and mysteries" (James 1982: 7). Often embarking upon some form of romantic adventure, while betraying her unwillingness to accept reality, Aunt Penniman remains an individual with only good intentions.

Giovanelli contrasts with the innocent and natural Daisy. He is urbane and artificial. Actually Winterbourne describes him mentioning "'he is not a gentleman,' said the young American; 'he is only a clever imitation of one'" (James 1999: 1518). However, at Daisy's funeral, it is precisely Giovanelli who admits to Winterbourne that Daisy was the most innocent of girls, and it is this information that finally illuminates Daisy's true character to Winterbourne and illuminates the reader's final impressions with regard to Daisy. Giovanelli's counterpart in *Washington Square* is Morris Townsend who, having been around in Europe, is back in New York. Morris is not intentionally hurtful, but he is irremediably selfish. He remains "mainly a stranger in New York. Since, despite the fact it used to be his native place, he had not been there for many years. He had been knocking about the world, and living in queer corners; he had only come back a month or two before" (James 1982: 18). Despite the assumed naturality of American characters, as usually happens with Jamesian Europeanised Americans, Morris is described through Catherine's first impressions as "the way a young man might talk in a novel; or, better still, in a play, on the stage" (James 1982: 19).

Daisy Miller brings issues to question the American heroine and her qualities through which we perceived how both European and Europeanised Americans position themselves. By contrast, *Washington Square*, as the title itself indicates, rather focuses on the sense of place, and the way old New York can be described as representative of the contemporary American ethos of profit that characterised the time any longer. The European-American social circle in Europe misunderstands the true character of Daisy Miller. She is innocent and uncultured and incautious but the circle only sees the surface of her character. They actually exaggerate the mores and codes of the European culture. They do not take the time to look beneath this pretense to find that she is naturally innocent, acting on impulse instead of convention. She rebels deciding to throw them out by being limited in her experience and refusing to change her natural ways in order to please a culture to which she does not belong, and it is in that that she excels as a real American. In this sense, the great theme of disparity between reality and appearance also unfolds in the relationship between Winterbourne and Daisy

Daisy as an American girl who is innocent of the knowledge of evil and immorality and hypocritical evil of Euro-American social circle, her lack of knowledge and experience deceives Winterbourne who is incapable of seeing life through the lens of inexperience after leaving America long ago. He thus

fails to understand her inexperience as innocence. Daisy is a character who reacts on impulse, unrestrained as an American. Winterbourne, on the other hand, more representative of the European American circle, acts on pretence, containing his feelings inwardly. He usually overthinks the situation, thus attempting to apply the conventional rules he has been indebted to since he left America. Moreover, the urbanity symbolised in the formal civilised setting of Rome overwhelms the natural innocence of Daisy.

In relation to this sense of place is where *Washington Square* excels. Home becomes a symbol of tradition, of culture, of family, and the past. *Washington Square* is the neighbourhood where Henry James was born and spent his first years. Catherine never leaves home, never gets married, never starts a family of her own. The home is like a small society in which Dr Sloper considers himself a patriarch. Dr Sloper manifests his intellect in his elaborate study. Dr Sloper is very interested in pursuing and uncovering the truth. However, the novel raises the question whether truth should always be pursued to the fullest extent. While Sloper is a lover of truth, Morris and Lavinia are both characters who prefer to leave a good deal of truth unsaid. Meanwhile, Catherine remains caught in between.

While *Daisy Miller* places emphasis between naturalness and convention, *Washington Square* also alludes to the difference between morality and romanticism. Daisy's naturalness is praised by the readers, while condemned by the characters. Catherine's modesty is praised in the novel, while perceived as too stiff by the audience. Despite the readership's favour of Daisy's innocence, she dies as a consequence. In spite of Catherine's mournful sense of right, her dignity is sustained until the end of the novel. Thus, the interplay of these two novels, published in just two years of difference, proves pivotal and representative throughout James' career with respect to the evolution of his international theme, his position as an American-born and English-adopted artist, and the evolution of Anglo-American literary studies. After all, no clear-cut attachment or dismissal of American and English realities, of James' entirely positive or negative characterisation, and of dependence or straightforward rejection of British authors in nineteenth-century American literature can be taken for granted.

4. Conclusions

This essay has mainly been envisioned to address to a tripartite aim: 1) firstly, delineating first the evolution of transatlantic studies along historical and cultural lives pertaining to the evolution of Anglo-American relations; 2) secondly, identifying the evolution of Henry James' traditionally acknowledged tripartite evolution in his works and career, taking into

consideration the development of his personal position with regard to both his international theme as a writer and his condition with regard to both America, as the country of his birth, and England, as his adopting nation; and 3) finally, comparing and contrasting James' characterisation, especially that of his heroines, in both of his novels *Daisy Miller* and *Washington Square*, as representative of the evolution of his international theme, his regard of both America and England, and the complexity in the motivations of both European and American characters in these novels.

As regards the first of these aims, it has been noticed how cultural, historical, and social circumstances of the time in relation to Anglo-American relations deeply influenced the gestation and development of transatlanticism. At the beginning, after the War of Independence, American writers and theorists tended to regard contemporary English writers with scorn, while moving back in time to praise and share a common English cultural heritage. As American literature developed to find an alternative identity to that of the former metropolis, nationalist movements began to take effect and American Studies arose as a separate field, while echoing national nineteenth-century movements, transcendentalist endeavours, and much later on, the rise of comparative literature well into the twentieth-century. Eventually, within the age of postnationalism, postmodernism, multiculturalism, and especially, globalisation, American Studies opened up to the study of other fields which influenced its formation along comparative lines. However, if twentieth-century comparative disciplines arose in order to preserve nationalistic aims, twenty-first century transatlantic studies aim at subverting simple and straightforward nationalisms with a view to look into Americanism from alternative and more incorporative perspectives and approaches.

Likewise, this evolution of transatlantic studies echoes Henry James' three established phases as regards his international theme. As a result of his education and his journeys to Europe from his early childhood, James was exposed to American and English settings permanently and intermittently throughout his life. His puritanical background and the old customs that characterised his home place took shape in Europe, where contrasts were more easily shaped and identified. Thus, it can be argued James became more American in Europe, and much more English when he was in America. Taking these premises into consideration, as a result of James' first stage of his international theme, most of his novels are set in Europe, where innocent Americans encounter evil and corruption in a social constrained world, while their inherent naturalness proves helpless in Europe. Gradually, this primeval vision gained complexity with time to the extent dichotomical structures were rejected to provide more complex portraits and revisions of not so innocent Americans and not so corrupted Europeans; both types of characters giving

way to Europeanised Americans, and Americanised Europeans. Finally, in James' established third phase as regards his internationalism, as he eventually chooses to become an English citizen, escaping the charmless old New York as he describes it, he portrays Europe in a more positive light, while America is often tainted with the puritanical heritage which can become as stiff as European social conventions, just as American capitalist profit is counteracted by European richness and cultural history. However, James' portrait of both Europe and America is never based on simple and clearly-cut dichotomies, as both European and American characters gain psychological complexity.

This progression can also be detected through changes implemented in two of James' novels at a specifically pivotal period with regard to his international, or rather, cosmopolitan theme, as is often called towards the end of his career. This evolution can be especially traced and detected through two of his most well-known American heroines, Daisy Miller and Catherine Sloper. Daisy represents the quintessential American innocent who finds her death in a European corruptive environment, where her manners are judged harshly in a world of social constraints even, and especially, by her compatriots, once they have been indebted to European manners. Moreover, the unkind reception *Daisy Miller* received by the American audience even led Henry James to increment Daisy's innocence while increasing the Europeanised detractors' malignity, thus underlining the rivalry between both at the time. However, while through the decades of the 1880s, James' journeys, relations, and artistry developed in Europe and contrasted with the American way through his visits to his hometown, he envisioned an entirely different kind of heroine, Catherine Sloper, in his novel *Washington Square*, this time set in America. If Daisy's main feature is innocence, Catherine's most outstanding characteristic is modesty. However, both characters seem to fail through their presumed virtues and their inability to conform to standards according to the nation where they are living. Daisy is unable to acknowledge, or rather, refuses to acknowledge European social conventions. In turn, Catherine seems unable to perceive Morris' intentions to gain profit from her love, failing to detect any American capitalist ethos through her good nature. Despite their failures, James provides different conclusions in each of the novels, thus implying some sort of change both in the portrayal of the American heroine and her end. While in *Daisy Miller*, James pointed at the fact that American innocence could be easily destroyed by European social conventions, *Washington Square* seems to point at the fact that the heroine's acquiring of experience and her puritanical ideals, since Catherine is modest but intelligent, may not grant her with felicity either, although they may provide her with the necessary dignity and strength to reject her former lover and exert some kind of power at the end of the novel.

Thus, James endowed the American heroine with more consistency, and more psychological depth, if we perceive the contrast set between Daisy and Catherine. However, one may wonder whether the picture of the American heroine is bleaker in *Daisy Miller* or *Washington Square*, since even though Daisy is killed by the Roman, or rather, European fever, her innocence and charm survive even after death, and her virtuosity remains intact through Giovanelli's comment and consequent admittance of Winterbourne's mistake as a result. However, in the case of *Washington Square*, despite Catherine's ultimate dismissal of her former lover Morris and the presumable recovery of her dignity and strength, she is nevertheless condemned to a death-in-life in an old quarter of New York. In this sense, James' picture of America in *Daisy Miller* becomes much more alluring than in *Washington Square*, since Daisy's freshness is ultimately superseded by Catherine's rigid modesty and sense of decency. James' perception of America seems more positive in his former novel *Daisy Miller*, while it becomes bleaker in *Washington Square*, as a result of his shifting of positions from America to England at this time in his life. However, his choice to live in England inevitably implied acquiring more self-consciousness regarding his Americanness as a result of cultural contrast. In this sense, it seems obvious there is a tendency of America to become more Europeanised, while England also acquires features which were perceived as more American, while through James' works, his characters gain psychological complexity and his vision of both nations deepens as a result of a life experience.

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